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Margriet Hoogvliet
University of Groningen

David Rivaud
Université de Tours

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Tours around 1500: Deep Mapping Scribes, Booksellers, and Printers¹

MARGRIET HOOGVLIET and DAVID RIVAUD

University of Groningen & Université de Tours

Tours is a French town, situated on the Loire River, a little over 200 kilometers south of Paris. With almost 13,000 inhabitants around the year 1500,² Tours was just an average-sized city in France but starting in the 1420s it became the capital of the French kingdom. From then on, the French kings often resided in the town and later in the nearby Castle of Plessis-lès-Tours, in part due to the threats brought by the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The presence of the French kings, the court, members of the high aristocracy, the royal administration, and foreign ambassadors, together with several local

¹ Results incorporated in this article have received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement Nr 665790. In 2019-2020 Margriet Hoogvliet was le STUDIUM Fellow at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (CESR) in Tours with the project "Religious lieux de savoir in premodern Tours and Orléans: A Social and Spatial Approach to Religious Reading in French (c. 1450-c. 1550)."

² Bernard Chevalier, *La ville de Tours et la société tourangelle, 1356-1520* (Dissertation Université de Lille III, 1974), 189-190.

communities of canons, resulted in a strong local demand for luxuriously decorated books, as is evidenced by the splendid miniatures made by Tours-based painters such as Jean Fouquet, Jean Poyet, Jean Bourdichon, and the Master of Claude de France.³

On the other hand, Tours was also a merchants' and artisans' town, with an urban society strongly reliant on literacy and written documents,⁴ so besides royals, courtiers, local canons, monks, and priests, the urban population itself constituted a highly interested clientele for the book market. This is confirmed, for example, by the 1516 post-mortem inventory of the moveable goods present in the home of a married couple of hosiers, Jehan Julian and Jehane Bernarde, who owned at least ten books, handwritten as well as printed, including five Books of Hours, the *Legenda aurea* in Latin, a French translation of *De contemptu mundi*, a book for the education of girls, and a French translation of Cato's *Disticha*, a widely used schoolbook.⁵

³ Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, Pascale Charron, Pierre-Gilles Girault, and Jean-Marie Guillouët, eds., *Tours 1500: capitale des arts* (Paris: Somogy, 2012); François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 129-155 and 164-323.

⁴ See my forthcoming article: Margriet Hoogvliet, "Rhétoriciens and Amateurs: Lay People Writing Religious Texts in Tours around 1500," in preparation.

⁵ Tours, Archives Départementales (AD), 3E1/34, 11/01/1515 (=1516). Jehane must have been in her forties or fifties because the document mentions adult children from her first marriage. Just a handful of late medieval and early 16th-century post-mortem inventories survive in Tours. Only

This article will explore possible spatial experiences of lay, middle-class inhabitants of Tours such as Jehan Julian and Jehane Bernarde, when they were navigating the city to purchase a new or second-hand book. The inquiry includes booksellers, copyists, and printers in Tours, from the 1470s to c. 1525, and their locations in the city, mainly based on documentation from surviving notarial archives, town archives, and surviving books. The locations in Tours will be compared to the urban presence of booksellers in Paris and Amiens. Plotting the known locations of artisans of the book, printers, and *libraires* (booksellers) on a modern GIS-map reconstructing the urban layout of Tours around 1500 shows the spatial distribution of places where they were active, and reveals spatial particularities, such as concentrations and proximities. We also discuss how city plans of Tours from the past can help us understand historical experiences of urban space while navigating the cityscape which, in some aspects, works better than using modern maps and GIS-maps. Then we propose a suggestion for enriching a GIS-map of “artisans of the book” in Tours in order to create a “deep

the pre-1500 notarial archives have been systematically transcribed and published in the online database, Renumar, of the CESR/Université de Tours (<http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/>) and other examples from the early 16th century may well be found in the future.

map” by incorporating qualitative and cultural information.⁶ Our suggestion for deep mapping will focus on the miraculous healing of the blind son of the printer André Trihollet in 1523 and will explore how spiritual motivations could have played out in the locations privileged by artisans of the book and *libraires*.

1. Mapping the Urban Economy of the Book I: Paris and Amiens

Earlier studies based on the examples of Paris and Amiens have shown that, during the late Middle Ages, lay people who were involved in book production for the market often operated from specific sites in the cityscape. To assess whether it is possible to infer a broader spatial pattern of book production and trade in late medieval French towns, we first examine the particularities and similarities of their spread and concentration in these two cities.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, Paris was the largest center of commercial book production in northern Europe, largely due to the presence of

⁶ For more on deep mapping and its context, see this issue’s foreword. See also David J. Bodenhamer, “The Spatial Humanities: Space, Time and Place in the New Digital Age,” *History in the Digital Age*, ed. Toni Weller (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013): 23-38; David J. Bodenhamer, “The Potential of Spatial Humanities,” *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010): 14-30; David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, eds., *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015).

many potential buyers connected to the university, the cathedral, the communities of canons, the Franciscan *studium generale*, several schools and *collèges*, and the French kings and court. In their study of book production and book trade in Paris between 1200 and 1500, Richard and Mary Rouse identified the two most important sites:

Members of the book trade concentrated in two adjacent neighborhoods joined by the Petit-Pont. The principal one was on the île de la Cité, on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, the street that stretched westward from the façade of the cathedral. The other neighborhood was just across the bridge, surrounding the Left Bank's principal parish church, St-Séverin, especially along the street known as the rue des Ecrivains.⁷

Both centers of book production and trade can be identified on historical maps of Paris (**Fig. 1**). Aside from a spatial concentration, the Rouses identify

“neighborhood and family structure” as the basis of book production in Paris.⁸

As discussed below, family networks featured in the book trade in Tours as well.

Kouky Fianu has published an even more detailed spatial analysis of the book production and trade in medieval Paris. Based on the surviving tax rolls of

⁷ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (London: Harvey Miller, 2000): 11-49, at p. 19. For medieval book production in Paris, see also Émilie Cottureau-Gabillet, “Les copistes de manuscrits à Paris aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Quelques considérations,” *Paris et Ile-de-France: Mémoires* 63 (2012): 191-212.

⁸ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts*, 48.

the years 1292 to 1300 and using a broad definition of “professionals of the book,” including bookbinders, manuscript painters, parchment makers, paper sellers, and booksellers (but for methodological reasons excluding scribes), all active in the Paris book market, Fianu was able to detect several clusters. On the Rive Gauche there was a cluster of 25 parchment sellers in the rue aux Écrivains, while 21 miniature painters and nine bookbinders were found in the rue Érembourg de Brie. Elsewhere on the Rive Gauche some individual artisans of the book were active near the university colleges and religious houses. Furthermore, Fianu found references to 25 booksellers on the île de la Cité, in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, or in close proximity to this street. At first sight, their presence might suggest a predominance of booksellers, but they were in fact outnumbered by poulterers and stamp makers, thus rendering doubtful Richard and Mary Rouse’s description of this street as the “street of bookmen.” Finally, a small cluster of book artisans can be detected on the Rive Droite, near St Eustachius’ Church.⁹

⁹ Kouky Fianu, “Métiers et espace: topographie de la fabrication et du commerce du livre à Paris (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)” *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth (Leuven: Peeters, 2006): 21-46, at pp. 25-26. See also: Kouky Fianu, “Les professionnels du livre à la fin du XIII^e siècle: l’enseignement des registres fiscaux parisiens,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 150/2 (1992): 185-222. The terminology

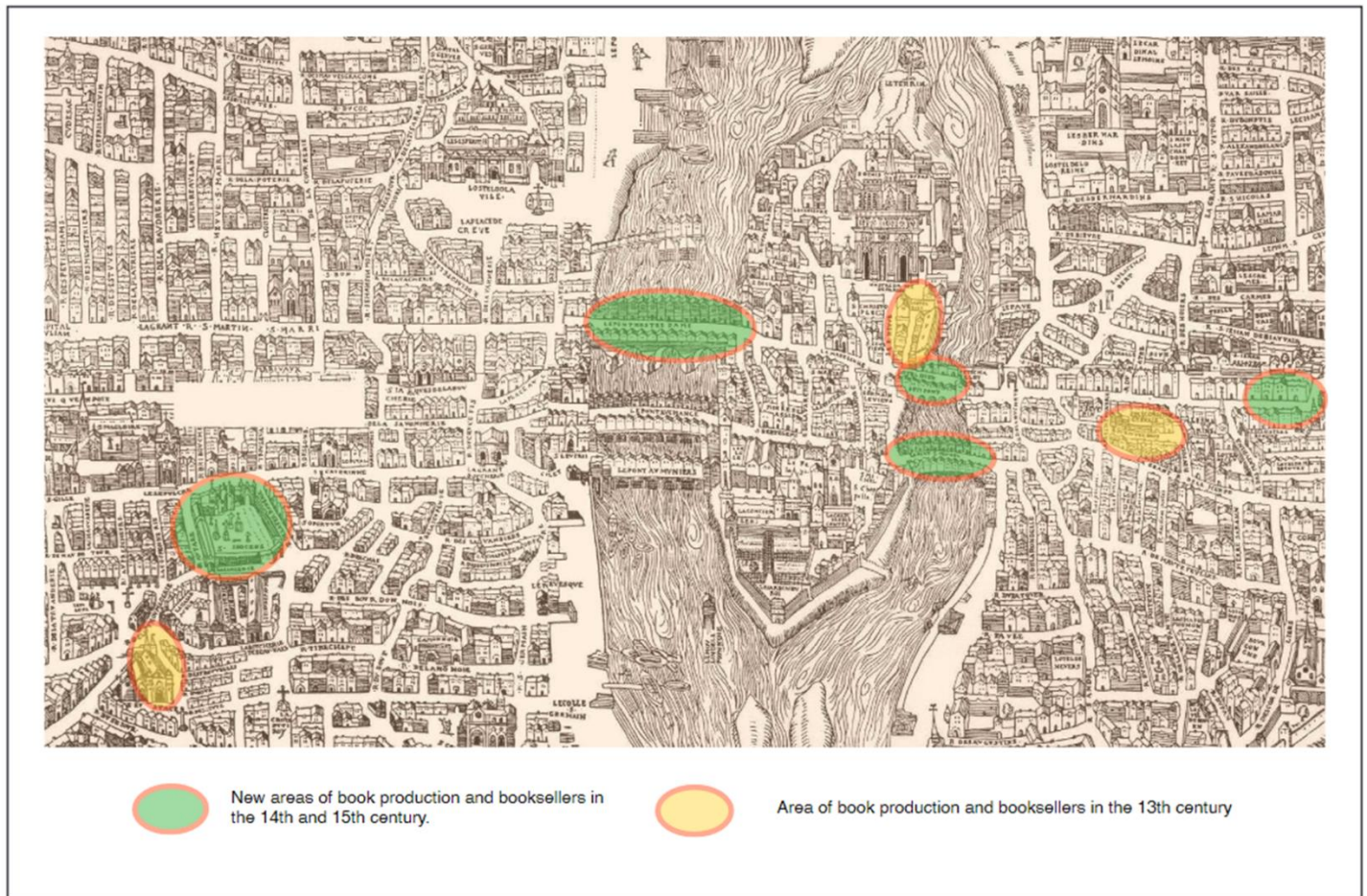


Figure 1 Areas with book production and booksellers in Paris (*Plan de Bâle*, c. 1550, detail). Photo: David Rivaud.

Study of tax rolls and complementary archival documentation from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enabled Fianu to detect later

in the historical sources is problematic because “the titles given to those working in the book trade were loosely applied and interchangeable,” Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London: British Library, 1999), 50.

developments of this spatial distribution of book producers and booksellers (**Fig.**

1). The earlier centers in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame and on the Rive Gauche in the parish of Saint-Séverin were still important around 1400, but new clusters can be detected, most notably on the Rive Droite near the cemetery of the Saints-Innocents, in the commercial heart of Paris and still in the vicinity of the parish church of St Eustachius.¹⁰ More clusters of booksellers can be detected on the bridges crossing the Seine from the île de la Cité, thus literally bridging the divide between the booksellers in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame and the book artisans on the Rive Gauche, but also on the Pont Notre-Dame, the main travel axis from the Rive Droite to the cathedral. Several small groups of booksellers and book producers settled in new locations on the left bank of the Seine River, most notably in the rue Saint-Jacques, near the schools and colleges of the university.¹¹

¹⁰ For a later period, see Christine Métayer, *Au tombeau des secrets: les écrivains publics du Paris populaire, cimetière des Saints-Innocents, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000). Fianu does not consider scribes like Nicolas Flamel (c. 1340-1418), *libraire-juré*, who can be situated on the Rive Droite on the corner of the rue Marivaus, facing the parish church Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. See Nigel Wilkins, *Nicolas Flamel. Des livres et de l'or* (Paris: Imago, 1993), 13-17.

¹¹ Fianu, "Métiers et espaces," 27-31.

According to Fianu, this specific pattern of spatial spreading and concentration of people active in the production and sale of books can be explained by several factors, including the ties linking booksellers and book producers to their clients. In the earlier period these were most notably the community of canons and ecclesiastics connected to the cathedral and its school. On the Rive Gauche, the demand for books by the schools and the colleges would have provided an economic incentive for book producers to settle in this area. In the later period, buyers on the Paris book market increasingly included lay inhabitants of the city, thus mirroring the expansion of the presence of written texts in urban Parisian society. Buyers could find mainly vernacular and second-hand books in the Cimetière des Innocents on the right bank. Lawyers, too, from the palace on the île de la Cité and from Châtelet could easily obtain books in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame and on the Pont Notre-Dame.¹² Another reason for the clustering of artisans of the book at distinctive sites in Paris had to do with the organization of book production. Artisans specializing in specific production activities, such as copying, decorating, painting miniatures, and

¹² Fianu, "Métiers et espaces," 32-35.

bookbinding would collaborate with each other, the whole process being monitored and managed by a bookseller, and this required spatial proximity.¹³

It should be noted, however, that even before the end of the 14th century there already must have been a Paris market for lay book buyers, who often sought books in the French vernacular, because, as early as 1255-1265, a bookseller named Herneis le Romanceeur was active in the rue Neuve in front of Notre-Dame Cathedral.¹⁴ A few years later Gilbert de Tournai wrote in *Historia de scandalis ecclesiae* (c.1274) that he was shocked that commercial bookshops in Paris were selling copies of the Bible translated into the French vernacular to lay people: “I have myself seen and read and held in my hands a Bible in French, whose exemplar is available to everyone at Parisian writing-shops so that heretical and erroneous, dubious, or stupid interpretations might be copied.”¹⁵ Notwithstanding objections by individual clerics such as Gilbert de Tournay, the impressive output of the book industry in Paris not only included books for clerics and the university, but also high amounts of books with biblical and

¹³ Fianu, “Métiers et espaces,” 41.

¹⁴ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts*, 47-48.

¹⁵ Quoted after Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries 1200-1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 125.

religious texts in the French vernacular, usually endorsed by members of the institutional church.¹⁶

Another French town with available historical and spatial documentation regarding its 15th-and early 16th-century book market is Amiens, situated approximately 130 kilometers to the north of Paris.¹⁷ A surviving tax list from 1386 mentions only two inhabitants who seem to have worked in commercial book production. The first is Jacque Torel in the Haulte rue Notre-Dame (now rue Henri IV), leading from the cathedral to the Grand Marché (now gone). The makers of the tax list described him as *clerc escripvain*: not necessarily a cleric, but rather a scribe with a workshop. Jacque was probably not wealthy, because he only paid the small amount of 16 *sous*, while his neighbor Coppin *le peintre* paid 40 *sous*.¹⁸ The close proximity of a scribe and a painter might suggest that they sometimes collaborated on the production of illuminated manuscripts. A second artisan of the book mentioned in the tax list is Noirmant *le parqueminier*, living on

¹⁶ Margriet Hoogvliet, "Questioning the 'Republican Paradigm': Scripture-Based Reform in France before the Reformation," *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era*, ed. Wim François and August Den Hollander (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 75-106.

¹⁷ During most of the 15th century, Amiens was part of the Duchy of Bourgogne, until 1471, when it was reconquered by the French king, Charles VIII.

¹⁸ A. Dubois, "Aide de 5795 liv. 10 s. 4 d. ordonnée pour le passage de la mer," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* 26 (1860): 165-259, at p. 173.

the “plache Saint Remy,” a street passing in front of the parish church of Saint-Remi and ending in the Haute rue Notre Dame. Parchment sellers such as Noirmant were often also active as copyists and contributed to book production, as we have seen in Paris. He was not rich either, because he only paid ten *sous*.¹⁹ Jacques Torel and Noirmant were not necessarily the only artisans delivering to the book market, because the tax list only gives the professions of a very limited number of Amiénois. Furthermore, in Amiens, parchment, paper, ink, and pigments were often sold by haberdashers.²⁰

In the later 15th century, 24 people described as *écrivains* and/or *libraires* can be documented in Amiens, some of whom can be located at a specific site.²¹ Just as in 1386, books were being produced and sold in the Haute rue Notre-Dame near the cathedral. The *libraire*, Gautier Deschamps, owned a house in this

¹⁹ Dubois, “Aide,” 174.

²⁰ Nicolas Guillot, rue des Tripes (Amiens, Archives Communales (AC) FF 159/5, 1516); Jean Guillot, rue des Tripes (FF 161/14, 1518); Nicolas Du Four, rue des Orfèvres (FF 163/13, 1519); Jean Bucquet, Grant Marché (FF 164/22, 1520); Jean Mouret, rue des Rainchevaux (FF 166/25, 1521); Jehan Blanchart and Lienor Gosette, facing the parish church Saint-Germain-l’Écossais (FF 171/12, 1522); Jean Brochot and Marguerite de Graval, facing the Hôtel-Dieu (FF 172/1, 1522).

²¹ For this number see Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 43. For book sellers and copyists in Amiens, see also Albert Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise du seizième siècle* (Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1971) 40-50; Albert Labarre, “Les maîtres écrivains: contribution à l’histoire de l’enseignement à Amiens du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle,” *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* 58 (1979-1980): 37-54; Malcolm Walsby, *Booksellers and Printers in Provincial France, 1470-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

street and was probably running a bookshop there (documented 1448-1461).²²

More *libraires*, scribes, and printers worked and sold from a *logette* (a wooden construction) on the *parvis* (forecourt) of the cathedral. Since the town council rented out these *logettes*, names of book sellers and copyists can be retrieved in the municipal account books: Jean Brugnet (documented 1481-1511) and his widow Catherine Picard (1511-1527);²³ the scribe and bookbinder Jean de France (1462-1485), and his son (starting in 1495);²⁴ the *libraire* Guillaume Le Prévost and his son Jean (1507-1514);²⁵ the *libraire* Pierre Le Paveur (1509-1538);²⁶ the *libraire* Guérard de La Chambre (1509-1514);²⁷ the printer Nicolas Le Caron (1511-1523);²⁸ and the *libraire* Guillaume Dufour (1518).²⁹ However, scribes and booksellers could also be found in other parts of Amiens: the bookseller, Jean Duquet, ran his

²² Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 48; Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 41, 49.

²³ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 42; Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 45; Labarre, "Les maîtres écrivains," 44; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 475, 2254.

²⁴ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 42, 53; Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 45; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1100-1101.

²⁵ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 42; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1726, 1727.

²⁶ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 42-43; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1719.

²⁷ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 49; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1480.

²⁸ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 43-46. Le Caron had a workshop in the rue de la Draperie (now rue Saint-Martin) and sold his books from a *logette* at the cathedral. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1606.

²⁹ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 46 (Dufour is mentioned as early as 1509); Walsby, *Booksellers*, 924.

business in the rue Mehault le Fournière (now the rue des Huchers) in the lower and wetter part of Amiens, but still near the cathedral (1456-1480).³⁰ Jean Leurens sold books from a *logette a vendre livres* near the parish church of Saint-Leu, also in the lower and wetter part of Amiens, along the main north-south travel axis (1506-1510).³¹ In contrast, Colart du Bos, *escripvain* and *librairier*, owned a house facing Saint-Martin.³²

An impression of the types of texts sold in Amiens is provided by the accounts of the 1509 lawsuit brought by the printer, Martin Morin from Rouen, against the *libraire*, Jean Leurens. These accounts contain a detailed list of 41 titles and a total number of 1,242 printed books that Leurens did not pay for. Some books were intended for professional religious readers, such as 19 copies of the *Manipulus curatorum*, a handbook for priests, but other books were intended for

³⁰ Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 45; Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 48; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 919.

³¹ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 49; Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 47; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1726, 1727.

³² Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 47. This is, according to Susy Nash, the church Saint-Martin-au-Bourg, opposite the town hall (the hôtel des Cloquiers, one of three places where the aldermen met) and along the main north-south travel axis. Another possibility is that he was close to the chapter church of Saint-Martin-aux-Jumeaux, which would have had the advantage of being near the cathedral, while being in the immediate vicinity of two communities of canons, those of Saint-Martin and Saint-Nicolas.

lay readers, including children, such as 300 Books of Hours in a larger letter font for children.³³

From a topographical perspective, similarities in comparison to the situation in Paris can be detected, most notably booksellers' predilection for being in the vicinity of the cathedral, particularly the *parvis* and a street leading directly to the cathedral. Other booksellers in Amiens preferred a place where many potential buyers, lay and religious, would be passing by, such as Jean Leurens, who sold his books from a *logette* situated on the main north-south travel axis running through Amiens, just as the booksellers did on the Pont Notre-Dame in Paris. As discussed in the following section, in Tours the surviving historical documents show the presence of several clusters of artisans of the book, printers, and *libraires*.

2. Mapping the Urban Economy of the Book II: Tours

Moving on now to Tours around the year 1500, it is first necessary to explain the spatial particularities of its cityscape (**Fig. 2**).³⁴ The medieval city is

³³ Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, 337-341.

³⁴ Hélène Noizet, *La fabrique de la ville: espaces et sociétés à Tours (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007); Chevalier, *La ville de Tours*, 44-77, 353-363. See also Sharon Farmer,

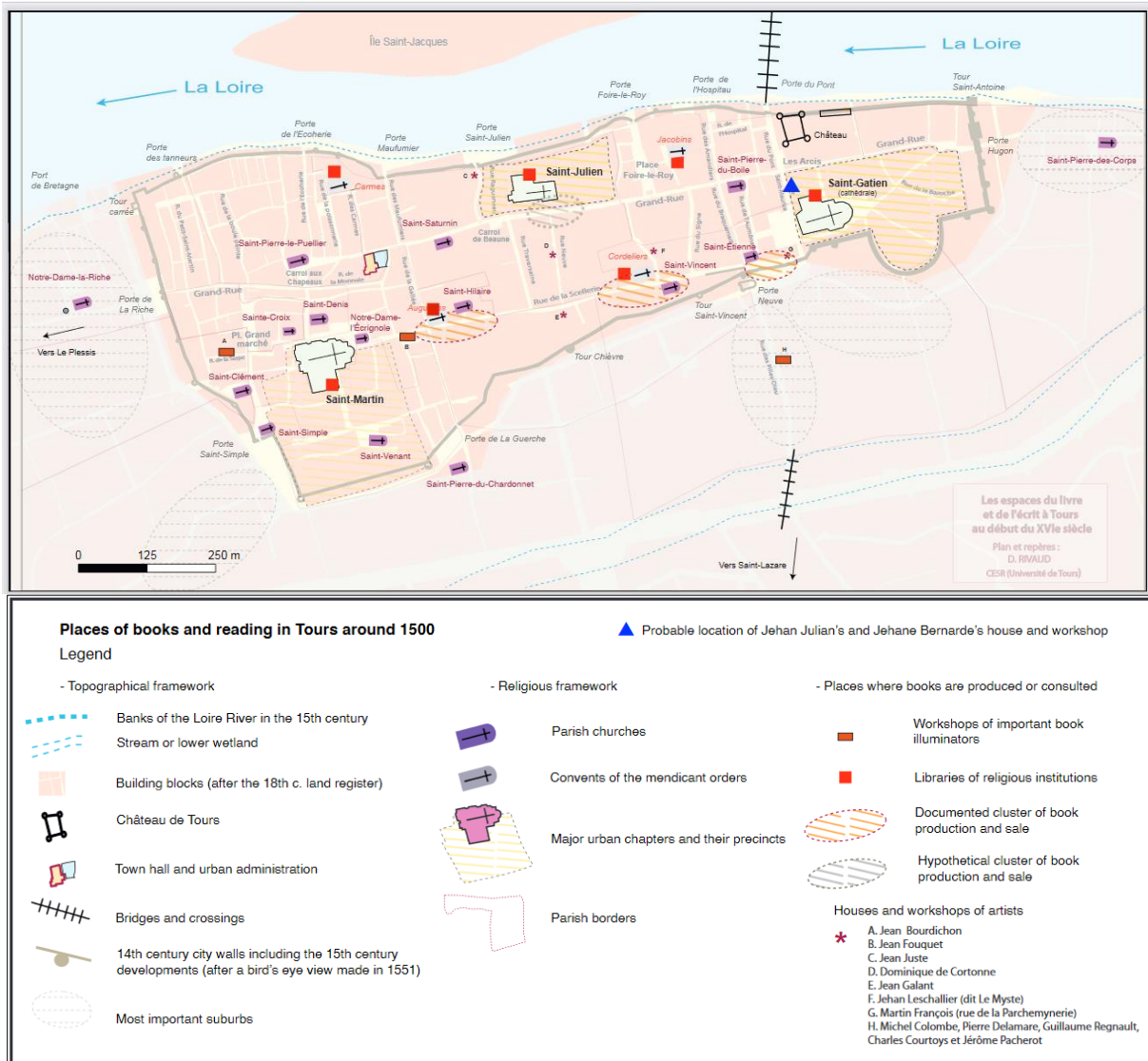


Figure 2 Tours, modern reconstruction of the town around 1500. Photo: David Rivaud.

Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991). For a reconstruction of the urban structure of Tours around 1500, including a study of the locations of several painters and artists, see David Rivaud, "Tours 1500, aspects topographiques," *Arts et société à Tours au début de la Renaissance*, ed. Marion Boudon-Machuel and Pascale Charron (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 15-28.

situated in the center of the French kingdom, on the junction of two major travel axes: on the south bank of the Loire River (which in the past served for water transportation) and along several north-south overland travel routes crossing the river via the bridge in Tours. The eastern part of Tours, called la Cité, occupied the site of the Roman *civitas Caesarodunum* near the bridge, and around 1500 it was the location of the cathedral, the canons' quarters, the castle of Tours, two hospitals, as well as the shops of artisans, including an important community of butchers, and merchants. Traffic coming from the south entered the city through the Porte Neuve, turned right through the rue de la Parchemynerie, to go left at the end and then pass in front of the hospital (the Hôtel-Dieu) and the Saint-Gatien's Cathedral onwards to the bridge over the Loire River (**Fig. 2**). The western urban nucleus, called Châteauneuf, included Saint Martin of Tours' shrine and basilica, one of the major pilgrimage sites in France. An urban structure of streets, markets, artisanal workshops, and shops had grown between the Basilica of Saint-Martin and several of the main river ports, such as la porte de l'Écoherie.³⁵ The two urban centers were connected by two parallel main

³⁵ This name refers to the *écorcherie*s (slaughterhouses) that were situated nearby. The animal skins destined for parchment were probably sold from here. See Bernard Chevalier, "Les boucheries, les bouchers et le commerce de la viande à Tours au XVe siècle," *Commerce, finances et*

streets running east-west, the Grand Rue in the north and the Rue de la Scellerie in the south. Because of the English and Burgundian threats during the Hundred Years' War, fortifications encompassing both urban nuclei were built, starting a little before 1356. The less densely built-up middle zone gradually became occupied by larger *hôtels* (city residences) with spacious ornamental gardens, owned by the aristocratic officers responsible for the finances of the kingdom and high-ranking urban elites.

In his magisterial study of Tours in the late Middle Ages, Bernard Chevalier stated that the production there of luxuriously decorated manuscripts started from scratch, or almost from scratch, because he did not find traces of artisanal book production prior to the 1450s.³⁶ There are, however, historical sources that allow us to gain new perspectives on the presence of commercial lay artisans of the book in Tours and the Loire Valley during the 13th and 14th centuries. While no documentation from Tours has come to light so far, there is relatively early evidence from elsewhere in the Loire valley, the area around

société (XI^e-XVI^e siècles). *Recueil de travaux d'histoire médiévale offert à M. le Professeur Henri Dubois*, ed. Philippe Contamine, Thierry Dutour, and Bertrand Schnerb (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1993): 157-169, at p. 165.

³⁶ Chevalier, *La ville de Tours*, 505.

Orléans, showing the presence of a lay scribe active as early as the 13th century.

Manuscript 119 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Orléans is a Latin missal dating from the late 13th century. Two notes added to the calendar, datable to the late thirteenth or early 14th century, commemorate the donation of this missal by Johannes Picardi, *scriptor* (scribe), and his wife, Mabilie, to the leper's hospital of Narbonne, near the famous Benedictine monastery of Fleury in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.³⁷ These notes show that Johannes Picardi was a married layman who was active as a copyist near Orléans and Fleury Abbey. He may well have been the copyist of the same missal that he and his wife donated to hospital.

Given the concentration in Tours of two Benedictine abbeys (Saint-Julien and Marmoutier, just across the Loire), two important communities of canons (Saint-Gatien and Saint-Martin), and the convents of four branches of the mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Celestines), all requiring books for their liturgical and spiritual activities, and all containing

³⁷ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 119, f. 2r: *III idus maii. Hic obiit Johannes Picardi scriptor qui dedit librum istum ad domum Nerbonie pro aniversario suo et Mabilie uxore sua celebrando annuatim; II non juniii. Anniversarium Mabilie uxoris Johannes scriptoris.* (13 May: Here died Johannes Picardi, copyist, who donated this book to the house of Nerbonie for the annual commemoration of his death and that of Mabilie; 4 June: Annual commemoration of Mabilie, the spouse of Johannes the scribe).

their own libraries, it can be expected that commercially working lay scribes such as Johannes Picardi would have found employment in Tours in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well, even if the religious institutions had in-house provisions for book production.

As far as the 14th and 15th centuries are concerned, the 19th-century historian, Eugène Giraudet, observed that the group of scribes in Tours had become quite numerous.³⁸ Furthermore, the surviving account books of the municipal government (called *les élus*, the elected ones) show that there were artisan *parcheminiers* active in the town at least as early as 1358, and most likely earlier. The historical sources from Paris discussed above clearly show that parchment makers and sellers were usually involved in several other activities in the book industry.

On 30 March 1356, in the middle of the turmoil of the Hundred Years' War, the French king, Jean le Bon, granted the inhabitants of la Cité and Châteauneuf the right to elect a municipal council of six *élus* with the authority to

³⁸ Eugène Giraudet, *Histoire de la ville de Tours, tome 1* (Tours: Les principaux libraires, 1873), 304: "une classe d'individus devenue très nombreuse au XVe siècle." Unfortunately, he includes no references.

levy taxes for the construction of the city walls and for the urban budget.³⁹

Apparently the *élus* started their activities soon thereafter and their annual account books have been preserved, starting in the year 1358.⁴⁰ The amount of taxes levied show that parchment figured among the goods sold in Tours that were subjected to taxation.⁴¹ So there was clearly a demand for parchment in Tours, but unfortunately it is not possible to establish the number of skins that were sold, the identities of the clients (the cathedral, abbeys, canons, laity?) or their use (charters, administration, books?).

Yet, the account books of the *élus* also show that the municipal government itself bought considerable amounts of paper and parchment for its administration and that the precursor of the town hall, called *l'hôtel du tablier*, was a center of writing in the town. Payments for paper and parchment occur regularly throughout the yearbooks, for example:

*A Gervèse de l'Officiere, pour II douzaines de parchemin, prinses de lui pour la ville, par mand. du XVIII de novembre [1358].*⁴²

³⁹ Chevalier, *La ville de Tours*, 78-86. Starting in the 13th century, the inhabitants struggled to gain permission to elect a municipal body.

⁴⁰ The Archives municipales of Tours preserve two series of documents from the municipal government. The accounts can be found under CC Registre, and the decisions taken by the *élus* under BB Registre.

⁴¹ J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Registres des comptes municipaux de la ville de Tours 1358-1366* (Tours-Paris: Georget-Joubert-Picard, 1878), 20, 94; 1358-1359, quantity not specified.

⁴² Delaville Le Roulx, *Registres*, 64.

[To Gervèse de l'Officiere, for 24 parchment skins, taken from him for the town, by order of 18 November 1358.]

And a few months later:

*A Jehan de St-Martin, pour II dosaines de peaux de parchemin et XVI peaux de chevrotin, de lui achatez pour la ville, par mand. et quit. du XXX de mars [1359].*⁴³

[To Jehan de St-Martin, for 24 parchment skins and 16 goat skins, bought from him for the town, by order and receipt of 30 March 1359.]

In addition to parchment, the urban administration consumed considerable quantities of paper:

*A Philipon de St-Père, pour une raime et demie de pappier et une torche de cire pour le tablier, par mand. et quit du III d'avril [1359].*⁴⁴

[To Philipon de St-Père, for a ream and a half (750 sheets) of paper and a wax torch for the tablier, by order and receipt of 3 April 1359.]

*A Gervèse Ligier, mercier, pour XII mains de papier achatées de lui pour fère papiers et retenues pour la ville [1360-1361].*⁴⁵

[To Gervèse Ligier, haberdasher, for 300 sheets of paper bought from him for making the account books and the register books for the town (1360-1361).]

⁴³ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 65.

⁴⁴ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 65. A ream of paper is a bundle of 500 unfolded sheets.

⁴⁵ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 226. *Une main* is 25 sheets of unfolded paper.

The administrative records of the town council during the years 1358 to 1366, taken here as a representative example, contain the names of several merchants who sold parchment and paper. Aside from Gervèse l'Officiere, Jehan de Saint-Martin, Philipon de Saint-Père, and Gervèse Ligier, already mentioned above, several other names occur: Girart de Vernon, Martin *le Parcheminier*, Jehan de Saint-Père, Guillaume Goupil, Berthelot *le Parcheminier*, and Robin Binet.⁴⁶ The number of different suppliers shows that there must have been an important commercial supply market for writing supports in late-medieval Tours. Moreover, names such as Martin *le Parcheminier* and Berthelot *le Parcheminier* may well suggest that they were also active in the production of books, just as their eponymous colleagues in Paris.

It is remarkable that these suppliers of parchment and paper were also paid for writing activities, as well as for other scribes employed by them:

*A lui [Philipon de Saint-Père], pour plusieurs escriptures qu'il a fait fère par Herman, pour guez et gardes de portes, et pour parchemin à les escripre, par mand. et quit. du III d'avril [1359].*⁴⁷

[To Philipon de Saint-Père, for several writings that he had made by Herman, for the list of duties for night watches and the guarding of the

⁴⁶ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 65, 70, 71, 174, 176, 343.

⁴⁷ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 65.

ports, and for the parchment to write them on, by order and receipt of 3 April 1359.]

And:

*Pour le salaire et despenz de Guillemin Ayguem, qui ordena, minua cest present compte et yceluy escript par III foiz, pour parchemin, papier et aindre necessaire pour ledit compte [1360-1361].*⁴⁸

[For the salary and expenditures of Guillemin Ayguem, who put this account in the correct order, applied red ink, and who copied it three times, for parchment, paper, and ink that were needed for said account (1360-1361).]

The *élus* also regularly employed scribes directly, most of whom remain anonymous (only described as *un clerc*), but others are mentioned by name:

Tutgual Legal, Pierre Herman, Henriot l’Escripvain, Roigelin de Treppel, Jehan Ottoviam, Jean de Malicorne, and Richart Tison.⁴⁹

Taken together, the evidence from the earliest account books of the *élus* in Tours shows that there was a commercial infrastructure that was able to produce written texts and books, at least as early as the middle of the 14th century. People such as Philipon de Saint-Père, who employed scribes to produce written texts,

⁴⁸ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 231.

⁴⁹ Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 83, 109, 226, 182-183, 250. Jean de Malicorne was a *notaire*, Delaville Le Roux, *Registres*, 250.

resemble the *libraires* in Paris, delegating different tasks of hand-written book production.

Unfortunately, the documentation contained in the municipal account books does not give enough information for us to locate these parchmenters, haberdashers, and scribes in the urban context of Tours, but some educated guesses can be made. At least a few of the parchment sellers must have been located in the rue de la Parchemynerie, leading from the Porte Neuve eastwards to the cathedral. As discussed above, in Paris and Amiens parchmenters and *libraires* were also often located in a street leading directly to the cathedral. Philipon de Saint-Père and Gervèse Ligier, who supplied paper and wax, are also described as *merciers* (haberdashers) in the account books. They would naturally prefer a location in the middle of commercial activities where many potential customers were passing by. Another entry reveals that the *élus* hired an *estau* (stall) from the same haberdasher Gervèse Ligier, situated at the *carroy aus drapiers*, the cloth market.⁵⁰ This market is difficult to locate in the town, but it is very likely that this was the *Carroi aux chapeaux* in Châteauneuf, a textile market

⁵⁰ Delaville le Roux, *Registres*, 254.

located at approximately the site of the present-day Place Plumereau and that Gervèse Ligier sold his merchandise, including paper, from a stall there.

A later document that allows us to retrace the presence of artisans of the book and booksellers in Tours is a copy of the *état du guet* from 1465, a publicly displayed list of male inhabitants' duties for guarding the walls and ports during the night.⁵¹ The *état du guet* contains a few names of artisans who were active in the production of books: Michau Agueton, *parcheminier*; Thibault Bredin, *escripvain*;⁵² Michau de Lahoussiere, *relieux* (bookbinder); Guillaume Piqueau, *enlumineur* (miniature painter); Regnault Filloche, *escrivain*;⁵³ Jehan Caillon, *enlumineur*; and Jehan Fouquet, *enlumineur*. These names and occupations show that in 1465 there was already an artisanal and commercial network of book production in Tours. As discussed below, Thibault Bredin and Regnault Fillolle (here noted as Filloche) were also described as *libraires*. Although even the famous manuscript painter, Jean Fouquet, had to contribute to the night watch, there were probably more lay people active in commercial production and sale of

⁵¹ Tours, Archives municipales, BB Registre 11, fol. 76r-89r. David Rivaud, "État du guet à Tours en 1465: présentation du document et analyse sociale," <http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/publication/etat-du-guet-a-tours-en-1465-presentations-du-document-et-analyse-sociale/>.

⁵² Number 4 in the appendix.

⁵³ Number 3 in the appendix.

books in Tours than these six artisans, such as people who were excused from the *guet*, because of their age, physical condition, or who were wealthy enough to pay off their civic duties.

More references to artisans of the book and booksellers can be found in the extensive series of notarial deeds that have been preserved in Tours, starting in the year 1462.⁵⁴ These sources, in combination with other historical documentation, have resulted in the names, and sometimes locations, of 47 people for the years 1458-1525, who were described as having the occupation of bookseller (*libraire, marchand libraire*), scribe (*écrivain, écrivain de forme*), bookbinder (*relieur*), and printer (*imprimeur, marchand imprimeur*).⁵⁵ Because of the fragmentated state of the historical archives, it is difficult to make a reliable comparison, but the presence of at least 47 people and their families who were living on the revenues of book production and the book trade seems a relatively high number for a mid-sized city such as Tours.

⁵⁴ Called in French the *Minutes des notaires*, preserved in the Archives départementales d'Indre-et-Loire (AD) in Tours. Online: <https://archives.touraine.fr/search/form/29953614-e788-47c1-9eac-e058c7f27197>; and the Renumar database: <http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/xtf/search>.

⁵⁵ See Appendix. Another witness of the attractive book market in Tours (But without the name of a bookseller) is Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24773 containing *Le livre des anges*. A noted dated 1492 on the inside of the back cover reads: "Ce present livre appartient à maistre Denis Aladant, notaire du Roy nostre sire, le quel il a acheté en la ville de Tours, le xiie jour d'aoust mil cccc quatre vingts et deux, par les mains de Regné."

For 17 book artisans and merchants, it was possible to retrace indications about where they were living and presumably working (**Fig. 2**). According to these data, the largest concentration of eight names (possibly nine if the scribe Jehan Gardel is included) was located in two connecting areas that can be considered as one cluster: in the parish of Saint-Étienne near the cathedral, and in the adjoining parish of Saint-Vincent, in the eastern end of rue de la Scellerie near the convent of the Franciscans. This corresponds to the aforementioned rue de la Parchemynerie and its westward prolongation into the rue de la Scellerie. Moreover, this was also the location of at least two manuscript painters who were probably collaborating with the scribes and *libraires* situated here:⁵⁶ Jean Bredin, manuscript painter and brother of the scribe and bookseller Thibault Bredin, and Bernard Dupatiz.⁵⁷

A second clustering of three names is detectable further to the west on the rue de la Scellerie in the parish of Saint-Hilaire, near the convent of the Augustinians. This cluster may have included the scribe, Richard Beaugendre,

⁵⁶ Notes testifying to collaborative book production and decoration can be found on a parchment leaf on the binding of a Missal made for Saint-Gatien's Cathedral. See Pascale Charron, "Missel à l'usage de la cathédrale de Tours," in de Chancel-Bardelot, *Tours 1500*, 77.

⁵⁷ Girault, "Organisation professionnelle": 121-131, at p. 122.

who lived in the nearby parish of Saint-Venand, close to the Porte de la Guerche. It is striking that the famous manuscript painter Jean Fouquet was also located in this area of Tours, which suggests that the proximity to scribes, booksellers, and printers was at least in part born of the need to collaborate and distribute tasks.⁵⁸

A third small cluster may have been present in the Grand Rue, a busy commercial street. Here Simon Pourcelet set up his printing shop in 1494. In 1490, the bookseller, Robert Charlot, rented a house in the Grand Rue as well, but the description of the transaction does not indicate clearly if he settled there. This cluster may also have included the scribe, Jehan Frotissin, who lived in the parish of Saint-Saturnin. Then, if the inventory of more than 278 books in French, located in the Grand Rue in front of the hôtel de Dunois and adjoining the Benedictine convent Saint-Julien with its Latin school, is that of a bookseller, this commercially interesting location may well have been a third cluster of book artisans and booksellers.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ François Avril, *Jean Fouquet, peintre et enlumineur du XV^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003) 420. This contradicts the conclusion by Pierre-Gilles Girault that a concentration of artisans of the book such as that found in Paris was lacking in Tours. Girault, "Organisation professionnelle," 122.

⁵⁹ Margriet Hoogvliet, "Une collection de livres en français à lire, à copier, à emprunter et probablement à vendre, à Tours vers 1500," <http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/publication/une-collection-de-livres-en-francais-a-lire-a-copier-a-emprunter-et-probablement-a-vendre-a-tours->

From a spatial perspective, the manuscript painter and courtier (*enlumineur et valet de chambre du roi*), Jean Bourdichon, is an outlier, because he lived and worked in the western extremity of town in the rue de la Serpe, a small alley ending in the Grand Marché and not too far from the Basilica of Saint-Martin.⁶⁰ As far as we know, no other booksellers or scribes were located here, but he did receive commissions from the king for complete books. For example, the 1479 accounts of King Louis XI mention a payment of no less than 30 gold *écus* to Bourdichon for a book that he had a copyist write and that Bourdichon himself decorated with gold and azure blue, along with nineteen richly executed miniature paintings. He was also paid for having the book bound and protected by a cover.⁶¹ This shows that Bourdichon was collaborating with scribes and bookbinders, whom he might have found close to his house or employed in his workshop.

vers-1500/; Margriet Hoogvliet, "A List of 267 French Texts in Tours: A Hub for Reading in the Vernacular," *Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica* n.s. 4 (2020): 115-153.

⁶⁰ Giraudet, *Histoire*, 39-40.

⁶¹ "Plus, audit Bourdichon, pour avoir fait escrire ung livre en parchemin, nommé le Papaliste, icelluy enluminer d'or et d'azur, et fait en icelluy dix-neuf histoires riches. Et pour l'avoir fait relier et couvrir, xxx escuz d'or" (fol. 53, 1479). Louis Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard, 1865) 365.

In spite of there being a considerable community of book producers and booksellers, most of the industry's output, handwritten and printed, seems to have been primarily destined for local audiences and not for export to other regions in France, with some of the luxury manuscripts by Fouquet, Poyet, Bourdichon and their colleagues perhaps being exceptions. The local demand for books must have been greater than the local production, because, although Mathieu Chercelé printed 600 Books of Hours for the *libraire* Jean Bodineau in Blois in 1525,⁶² most Books of Hours following the use of the diocese of Tours and books with the customary laws of Touraine were printed in Paris and not in Tours.

Having detected a spatial distribution and concentrated clusters of book artisans and *libraires* in Tours around 1500, it should be stressed that most of these people were not permanently tied to one specific site and that they could be surprisingly mobile. For example, Jean Ternon, nephew of Regnault Fillolle, was *libraire* in Blois in 1505.⁶³ A 1522 document describes the printer, Jehan Lebreton, as *demeurant de présent à Marangé au diocèse de Chartres* (residing at the

⁶² Tours, AD, 3E1/28, 19/04/1525.

⁶³ Tours, AD, 3E1/20, 17/09/1505.

moment in Marangé in the diocese of Chartres),⁶⁴ while he later appears in Tours. In October 1514, Latheron transported his press to Vendôme in order to print a splendid breviary there.⁶⁵ These mobility data show one of the limitations of GIS-mappings, because they are quite static and do not easily allow us to display the spatial mobilities of people and portable objects such as books, or changing historic realities. In the following section, we discuss possibilities for alternative mappings that allow us to more fully represent and understand historical spatial experiences.

3. Deep mapping booksellers, copyists, and printers in Tours

Returning to the hosier, Jehan Julian, and his wife, Jehane Bernarde, we can ask: To which places in Tours would they have gone to purchase a book or to consult a text? How would they have experienced Tours around 1500 when walking through the city to one of the scribes, printers, or *libraires*? And what were the locations of libraries where they could access books?⁶⁶ An archival

⁶⁴ Tours, AD, 3E1/40, 03/09/1522.

⁶⁵ Pierre Aquilon, "L'art typographique à Tours, 1485 (?)/1494-1520" in de Chancel-Bardelot, *Tours 1500*, 274.

⁶⁶ For a similar enquiry, see Julia Boffey, "Reading in London in 1501: A Micro-Study," *Spaces for reading in later Medieval England*, ed. Mary C. Flannery, Carrie Griffin (Basingstoke: Palgrave

document provides information about the probable location of their home (including a workshop and a shop): the rue Saint-Maurice, now known as the rue Lavoisier, leading from the Grand Rue to the cathedral (**Fig. 2**).⁶⁷ For Jehan and Jehane, the shop of the *libraire*, Jehan Lefort, that was situated facing the cathedral (*vis à vis l'église de Tours*) would have been only a few steps away. They also may have preferred one of the booksellers around the corner, in the rue de la Parchemynerie, or elsewhere in Tours.

But Jehan and Jehane had even more options to access to textual culture, because several institutional libraries in Tours shared texts with lay people (**Fig. 2**), most importantly the library of Saint-Gatien's cathedral. The library and reading room in the cloister, accessible from the cathedral, were constructed between 1459 and 1484, and were most likely open to lay readers.⁶⁸ In addition,

Macmillan, 2016): 51-61. We are currently preparing the "Hidden Tours" app, a GPS-triggered walk for smartphones through Tours, guided by Jehane Bernarde on her way to purchase a book in 1500 (for iOS and Android); see <https://www.hiddencities.eu>.

⁶⁷ In 1490 Jehane's first husband, Jehan Pasquier, rented a house in the rue Saint-Maurice (Tours, AD, 3E1/3, 01/03/1490). Since Jehane's children still had rights to the goods in Jehane's house, it can be inferred that she and her second husband continued Jehane's late husband's hosier business.

⁶⁸ Chevalier, *La ville de Tours*, 508; Thomas Rapin and Julien Noblet, "Le Cloître de la Psalette. Rappel chronologique (XV^e, XVI^e et XIX^e siècles)," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Touraine* 48 (2002): 89-104, at pp. 91-93. The inventory of the library dates from 1706 and lists 461 manuscripts and incunabula (but also notes that many volumes had already disappeared). See Léopold Delisle, "Liste des manuscrits du fonds de Saint-Gatien," *Notice sur les manuscrits disparus de la*

the chapter of Saint-Martin's basilica had an important library, including a small number of books with religious texts in French,⁶⁹ and the religious orders in the town (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites) owned collections of books.⁷⁰ Since these orders were active in the religious education of the laity, it can be expected that they used their books for this purpose, by sharing their books or via sermons and religious education.

It is, of course, possible to plot all these places on a GIS map (**Fig. 2**) that illustrates the multitude of places in which books and reading were available to lay people in Tours. However, as David Bodenhamer has pointed out, the "positivist epistemology" of GIS maps is not always helpful for analyzing cultural representations of spaces and social processes.⁷¹ In this case, using a GIS-

Bibliothèque de Tours pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883): 160-168.

⁶⁹ In 1729 the library contained 272 manuscript books. See Bernard de Montfaucon, "Catalogus codicum manuscritorum bibliothecae insignis ecclesiae S. Martini Turonensis," in *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscritorum nova* (Paris: Briasson, 1729) vol. 2, 1335-1341.

⁷⁰ A. Dorange, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Tours* (Tours: Jules Bouserez, 1875) v. The Bibliothèque Municipale of Tours preserves 16 manuscripts of the Augustinians, 11 of the Carmelites. Less information is available about the libraries of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, but individual manuscripts in the Bibliothèque municipale have belonged to the Dominicans (for example MS 108) and the Franciscans (for example MS 517).

⁷¹ David J. Bodenhamer, "Narrating Space and Place," *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, Trevor M. Harris, eds. (Bloomington and Minneapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015): 7-27, at p. 20.

map to plot spatial distributions of artisans of the book and booksellers does lead to some conclusions, but the map does not allow us to represent the mobility of people, or to understand the spatial flow of books. In addition, the two-dimensional map from a God's-eye perspective reduces the historical cityscape into a grid of roads, while colored surfaces represent the built environment.

Maps such as these do not give information about the human presence, architecture, traffic in the streets, the sounds of urban life, or the presence of fields, gardens and trees; nor do these maps allow for the representation of the latest gossip, political tensions, conceptual spaces, or spiritual aspirations. In short, human and cultural experiences of urban spaces are lacking.

Medieval and early modern maps have often been considered inadequate or irrational, but they can provide more information about the spatial experiences of navigating the historical cityscape. Only two cartographical representations of Tours in the 16th century have survived.⁷² The first is a woodcut map of Tours from a bird's-eye view with only a rudimentary street plan, originally made for a

⁷² Claude Petitfrère, "Une ville mise en scène: Tours d'après l'iconographie générale des XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle," in *Images et imaginaires de la ville à l'époque moderne*, ed. Claude Petitfrère (Tours: Maison des sciences de la ville, Université François-Rabelais, 1998), 175-210. However, there must have been medieval plans of Tours that are now lost. See Charles de Grandmaison, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire des arts en Touraine* (Paris: J.B. Dumoulin, 1870), 28, 59.

Lyon print from 1553 and re-used for François de Belleforest's *Cosmographie* (Fig. 3).⁷³ The second example is an engraving of the skyline of Tours, as seen from the



Figure 3 François de Belleforest, *Le vif portraict de la ville et cité de Tours*, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris: N. Chesneau, 1575), 2.13 (Gallica, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France). Photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

⁷³ François de Belleforest, *Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1575), 15-16.

north bank of the Loire River, after a drawing by Joris Hoefnagel. It was printed in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, first published in 1588 (Fig. 4).⁷⁴



Figure 4 Joris Hoefnagel, Tours, le jardin de France (engraving after a drawing from 1561, printed in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 1588). Photo: Public domain, Wikipedia.

Both maps show a walled city situated on the waterfront of a river in a leafy green, almost bucolic landscape—le jardin de France (the garden of France). The cityscape is crowded with a mass of closely-packed houses from which several towered religious buildings arise: Saint-Gatien's Cathédral, Saint-Saturnin's

⁷⁴ Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Liber quartus urbium praecipuarum totius mundi* (Cologne, s.n., 1588), n.p.

parish church, the St. Martin's Basilica, and several other lower-rising religious houses. The woodcut map shows two main streets, the Grand Rue and the rue de la Scellerie, connected by a few transversal streets. On both maps, the built environment is taken up by houses and, one suspects, a maze of small footpaths winding around them. These maps' particular depictions of religious institutions and private houses suggest a close connection between the two and so the fostering of dense social networks connecting different social groups.

Connecting urban space to family networks can be a first step toward deep mapping. As has already been touched upon, several of the scribes, printers, and *libraires* in Tours were connected through family ties: the *libraire*, Regnault Fillolle, was an uncle of the *libraire*, Jehan Ternon; the manuscript painter, Jean Bredin, was a brother of the *libraire*, Thibault Bredin (they lived in adjoining houses); the *libraire*, Mathieu Pouet, was the son of the scribe, Gacian Pouet; in 1529 Jehan Natural, the orphaned son of the *libraire*, Olivier Natural, was employed as an apprentice with the *libraire*, Hiereme Gentilz;⁷⁵ and the *libraire*, Robert Charlot, was the father-in-law of the notary, Jacques

⁷⁵ Tours, AD, 3E1/47, 02/10/1529.

Foussedouaire (not a *libraire*, but a still in a writing profession). Women were probably also involved in these close spatial and social networks: Jehanne Poncte, widow of Regnault Fillolle, was still occupying a house situated directly on the rue de la Scellerie after his death, which may suggest that she continued her late husband's business.⁷⁶ Barbe, the wife of Jean Bourdichon, signed on behalf of her husband on at least two occasions for financial transactions, suggesting that she was also involved in the management of his workshop.⁷⁷

The close-knit social network of the artisans of the book and *libraires*, as well as their involvement in religious matters and spiritual life in Tours, can also be retraced in a notarial document commemorating the miraculous healing of André Trihollet's young son's blindness.⁷⁸ The document with witnesses' statements dates from 17 April 1523 and recounts how the four- to five-year-old René regained his eyesight when his mother showed him an image, of the Virgin holding her child clutching the cross in his hand, and Saint François de Paule

⁷⁶ Tours, AD, 3E1/20, 17/09/1505. It was not unusual for widows of *libraires* to continue the business. See Anne Parent-Charon, "A propos des femmes et des métiers du livre dans le Paris de la Renaissance," *Des femmes et des livres: France et Espagne, XIV^e-XVII^e siècle*, ed. Dominique de Courcelles and Carmen Val Julian (Paris: Publications de l'École nationale des chartes, 1999), <http://books.openedition.org/enc/1005>.

⁷⁷ Tours, AD, 3E8/291, 03/07/1496; 3E8/291, 16/11/1496.

⁷⁸ Tours, AD, 3E1/42, 17/04/1523. A transcription can be found in the Renumar database: <http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/>.

(1416-1507) holding a cane.⁷⁹ The latter saint, founder of the mendicant order of Minims, lived near Tours in the royal castle of Plessis-lès-Tours until his death. The image was on paper and, consequently, might have been printed: a sign that the output of the printing presses was not only commercial, but also spiritual in nature. The miracle was witnessed by the boy's parents and two other printers, Jehan Lebreton and Jehan Gallays. This might suggest that these two men were closely collaborating with André Trihollet, possibly even working in his workshop. The document was made in the presence of two witnesses: another printer, Arnoul Rousset, and Martin François, a master mason and sculptor, who lived in the rue de la Parchemynerie. André Trihollet lived and worked not far away, in a house with a workshop in the rue de la Scellerie, facing the church of the Franciscans. The document also mentions the involvement of two Minim friars, Jehan Bellemot and François Fabry.

The social network revealed by this document shows that printers such as André Trihollet were living and working alongside their fellow printers. The

⁷⁹ A very similar, if not the same woodcut was bought in Tours by Italian Antonio de Beatis in 1518, who pasted it in his travel journal, see J.R. Hale, ed. *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France and Italy, 1517-1518* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979), 131.

location of their businesses in Tours was probably not only chosen for commercial reasons and proximity to clients; social bonds and family ties were likely of equal importance. The connection between André Trihollet and the two Minim friars may well suggest that he had a special relation with the mendicant orders and that religious motives had co-determined the position of his printing business and shop facing the church of the Franciscan friars. Since the *libraires* and printers in Tours were selling religious books and images—they also sold legal and worldly texts—clients such as Jehan Julien and Jehane Bernarde would have perceived them as part of the religious and spiritual cityscape of Tours.

Conclusion

Earlier spatial research into the location of “artisans of the book” and *libraires* in Paris has shown that they often settled in specific clusters in the town: in the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, on the Rive Gauche near the rue des Écrivains; in the rue Saint-Jacques, on the Rive Droite near the Cimetière des Saints-Innocents; and on the Pont Notre-Dame. Additional data from Amiens and Tours show that this was most likely a tendency throughout France, because in both towns similar patterns of spreading and concentration can be detected. The urban

spaces of book production and sales in Tours around 1500 were the rue de la Parchemynerie leading to the cathedral and its westward extension, the beginning of the rue de la Scellerie. Secondary clusters of book production and sales were probably present on the western extremity of the rue de la Scellerie and in the Grand Rue. This specific spatial pattern suggests a preference for proximity to religious institutions and schools: the cathedral and the chapter, the Franciscan and Augustinian convents, and the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Julien with its Latin school.

Not every artisan and artist in Tours involved in book production chose spatial proximity to colleagues and religious institutions: the artist, Jean Bourdichon, although collaborating with scribes and bookbinders, lived and worked in a somewhat isolated location on the western end of the city. Earlier research has suggested explanations for these spatial patterns: artisans of the book and *libraires* would have preferred locations near prospective clients, near religious institutions and schools, and along frequently used travel axes. Spatial proximity would also have facilitated collaboration between artisans working on different aspects of book production—copying, decorating, painting, binding—managed by a *libraire*.

Broadening a traditional, static GIS-map into a “deep map” by using additional sources shows that strictly spatial parameters (distance, spreading, clustering) are not always sufficient for understanding the social, cultural, and spatial dynamics of early modern city life. Work based on historical maps of Tours and the story of the miraculous healing of André Trihollet’s young son leads to much richer conclusions. It reveals scribes, printers, book painters, binders, and *libraires* who formed social communities that were tightly knit with strong family ties and spiritual bonds, among themselves and with members of religious orders. The book community was also strongly involved in the spiritual life of Tours, and their personal connections with friars and other professed religious undoubtedly shaped their preference for specific locations in town. 🐼

Appendix

Scribes, bookbinders, booksellers, and printers in Tours c.1458-c.1525 (excluding manuscript painters/*enlumineurs* and parchment sellers/*parcheminiers*).

1. **Jehan Labbé**, *relieur* (1458-1459).⁸⁰
2. **Jehan Gardel**, scribe, rue de la Scellerie (fifteenth century).⁸¹
3. **Regnault Fillole/Fieillote/Feulole**, *libraire, escriptvain*, Saint-Hilaire parish, rue de la Scellerie (1465, 1480, 1505).⁸²
4. **Thibault Bredin** (brother of Jean Bredin, *enlumineur*), *escriptvain, libraire de Saint-Hilaire, enlumineur*, rue de la Scellerie, *aumônerie de Saint-Julien* (1465, 1482, 1491, 1496, 1501, 1502, 1504, 1504).⁸³
5. **Michau de Lahoussiere**, *relieux* (1465).⁸⁴
6. **Tugdual Gaultier**, *écrivain, libraire* (1474, 1480).⁸⁵
7. **Jehan Bouguer**, *écrivain de forme et relieur de livres* (1481).⁸⁶
8. **Richard Beaugendre**, *écrivain de forme*, Saint-Venand parish (1485, 1486).⁸⁷
9. **Martin Huppejour/Jupejour**, *maistre escriptvain de la dicte ville, écrivain de forme* (1486, 1511).⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Order by King Charles VI for two song books. Bernard Prost, "Documents sur l'histoire de la reliure. Extraits des comptes royaux des XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* s.n. (1898): 28-35, at p. 28.

⁸¹ Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2128, last folio: "*Explicit le livre des troys vertuz a l'enseignement des dames, escript par les mains de Jehan Gardel, demourant a Tours en la rue de la Sellerie, serviteur de madite dame.*"

⁸² Tours, Archives municipales, BB11, f. 81v; Tours, AD, 3E1/20, 17/09/1505; Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes*, 393, 394; Prost, "Documents," 29; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1057.

⁸³ Tours, AM, BB11 f. 81r; de Grandmaison, *Documents*, 283; Tours, AD, 3E1/3, 04/02/1490(=1491); 3E1/15, 09/11/1496; 3E1/17, 11/05/1500(=1501); 3E1/17, 04/06/1502; 3E1/19, 19/11/1504; 3E1/20, 17/07/1505; 3E1/20, 10/12/1505; 3E1/20, 22/11/1505; 3E1/21, 23/09/1506. Walsby, *Booksellers*, nr. 448 and 447 (Philippe Bredin).

⁸⁴ Tours, AM, BB11 f. 81v.

⁸⁵ Tours, AD, 3E1/2, 04/03/1474; Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 438, f. 71r. Receipt signed by Tugdual Gaultier, *libraire*, 18 March 1479 (=1480).

⁸⁶ Tours, AD, 3E8/285, 07/07/1481. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 372.

⁸⁷ Tours, AD, 3E8/288, 08/06/1485; 3E8/288, 25/08/1486.

⁸⁸ 3E8/288, 25/08/1486; de Grandmaison, *Documents*, 48.

10. **Joannes Guimbelet**, *escripvain* (1487).⁸⁹
11. **Gacian Pouet**, *écrivain*, Saint-Vincent parish (1490, 1491, 1496).⁹⁰
12. **Robert Charlot**, *libraire*, Grand Rue (?) (1490, 1500, 1504, 1505).⁹¹
13. **Jehan Thomas**, *imprimeur* (1490).⁹²
14. **Pierre le Sour**, *libraire* (1491, 1492).⁹³
15. **Mathieu Lateron**, *imprimeur, libraire imprimeur*, rue de la Scellerie, près de l'église Saint-Vincent (1492, 1515, 1520, 1521, 1522).⁹⁴
16. **Simon Pourcelet**, *imprimeur*, "in intersignio Pellicani" (a house with the sign board of the pelican in the Grand Rue, now 48, rue Colbert) (1494).⁹⁵
17. **Jehan Ternon**, *libraire* (1496).⁹⁶
18. **Jehan du Liège**, *marchant libraire*, en la rue de la Sellerie a lymage de saint Iehan l'Evangeliste pres des Augustins (1496).⁹⁷
19. **Olivier Robin**, *écrivain* (1497).⁹⁸
20. **Jehan Riveron**, *escripvain* (1497, 1501).⁹⁹

⁸⁹ de Grandmaison, *Documents*, 284.

⁹⁰ Tours, AD, 3E1/3, 23/09/1490; 3E1/4, 15/11/1491; 3E1/5, 03/12/1496. His son Mathieu Pouet is a librarian; see below.

⁹¹ Tours, AD, 3E1, 28/01/1489(=1490); 3E1/17, 18/07/1500; 3E1/19, 19/11/1504; 3E1/20, 24/09/1505. The notary Jacques Foussedouaire describes Robert Charlot as his father-in-law (3E1/17, 19/01/1501 (=1502)). Walsby, *Booksellers*, 585.

⁹² Tours, AD, 3E1, 03/06/1490. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2572.

⁹³ Prost 1898, pp. 84-85; 25 and 28 September 1492, Paris, Archives nationales, KK 72, f. 127v, 129v, 128v, 130r-v.

⁹⁴ Tours, AD, 3E1/4, 19/04/1491-1492; 3E1/33, 24/11/1515; 3E1/36, 28/02/1520; 3E1/37, 13/05/1521; 3E1/40, 30/05/1522. Aquilon, "L'art typographique;" Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1568.

⁹⁵ Grandmaison, *Documents*, 290. For the location of the house with the pelican, see Yves Esquieu and Jean-Marie Pesez, eds., *Cent maisons médiévales en France (du XII^e au milieu du XVI^e siècle)* (Paris: CNRS, 1998), n. 44. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2311.

⁹⁶ Tours, AD, 3E8/291, 08/10/1496. Regnault Fillole is his uncle: 3E1/20, 17/09/1505. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2557.

⁹⁷ *La vie de Saint Martin avec ses miracles* (Tours: Mathieu Latheron for Jean du Liège, 7 May 1496). Colophon: "imprimee a Tours par Mathieu Lateron [...] pour Jehan du Liege marchant libraire demourant a Tours en la rue de la Sellerie a lymage de saint Iehan l'Evangeliste pres des Augustins." This is probably not Jean de Marnef, or de Liège (Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1928), but most likely a different bookseller, originating from Le Liège, a small hamlet situated between Tours and Loches.

⁹⁸ Tours, AD, 3E8/291, 08/02/1497.

⁹⁹ Grandmaison, *Documents*, 43-44; Paris, Archives nationales, KK 85, f. 93.

21. **Jehan Lefort**, *libraire, marchand libraire*, Saint-Étienne parish, *vis à vis l'église de Tours* (1499, 1515, 1516, 1521).¹⁰⁰
22. **Robert Queru**, *escripvain* (1501).¹⁰¹
23. **Jehan Richart**, *marchand libraire*, printer (1504, 1522, 1524, 1533).¹⁰²
24. **Simon Cantin**, *imprimeur* (1505).¹⁰³
25. **Mathieu Pouet**, *libraire*, Saint-Vincent parish (1498, 1505).¹⁰⁴
26. **Jehan Margerie**, *libraire à Saint-Étienne, demourant devant la grant porte saint Gacien* (1508, 1516, 1519).¹⁰⁵
27. **Jean Sassin**, *libraire* (1509).¹⁰⁶
28. **Mathurin Binet**, *libraire* (1512).¹⁰⁷
29. **André Trihollet/Tryollet**, *relieur de livres, marchand libraire imprimeur*, rue de la Scellerie *vis à vis l'église des Cordeliers* (with Mathieu Chercelé) (1515, 1523, 1526).¹⁰⁸
30. **Mathieu Charsellé/Chercelé**, *marchand imprimeur de livres*, Saint-Vincent parish, rue de la Scellerie *vis à vis l'église des Cordeliers* (with André Trihollet), *une boutique donnant rue de la Scellerie à Tours, face à l'église des Cordeliers* (with André Trihollet) (1515, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1530, 1531, 1532).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰ Tours, AD, 3E1/5, 19/01/1498(=1499); 3E1/34, 23/05/1515; 3E1/33, 10/08/1515; 3E1/34, 24/09/1515; 3E1/34 12/02/1516; 3E1/38 27/07/1521; 3E1/42 13/04/1523.

¹⁰¹ Tours, Archives municipales, CC reg. 53, f. 61v; 18/01/1500 (=1501).

¹⁰² 3E1/19, 03/12/1504; 3E1/40 30/05/1522. *Manuale ad usum Turonensem*, Tours, *excudebat Jean Kerbriant expensis Jean Richart*, s.d.; *Missale ad usum sancte metropolis ecclesie Turonensis* (Tours: Jean Richart, 1524); *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Turonensis diligenti cura castigatum* (Paris: per Jean Kerbriant impensis Jean Richard (Tours), 1533); *Missale ad usum insignis Turonensis* (Tours: Jean Richart, 1533). Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2406.

¹⁰³ Tours, AD, 3E1/20, 10/12/1504 (=1505).

¹⁰⁴ Tours, AD 37, 3E1/5 18/12/1498; 3E1/19 18/02/1504 (=1505). Son of the scribe, Gacian Pouet (see above, number 11). Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2304.

¹⁰⁵ 3E1/7, 20/11/1508; 3E1/36, 05/08/1519. Jean Sainson, *Consuetudines totius presidatus seu Turonensis bailliue* (Paris: Jacques Poussin: Hilaire Malican (Blois) & Jean Margerie (Tours), 1516), f. 144v. See Pierre Aquilon, "Coutumier de Touraine," in de Chancel, *Tours 1500*, 336; Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1905 (active as early as 1493).

¹⁰⁶ Tours, AD 37, 3E1/23, 21/12/1509. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2503.

¹⁰⁷ Tours, AD, 3E1/23, 14/12/1512. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 267.

¹⁰⁸ Tours, AD, 3E1/33, 24/11/1515; 3E1/42 17/04/1523; 3E1/29, 09/03/1525(=1526). Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2608.

¹⁰⁹ Tours, AD, 3E1/34, 21/09/1515; 3E1/35, 07/02/1520; 3E1/38, 29/06/1521; 3E1/40, 15/10/1522; 3E1/28, 19/04/1525; 3E1/29, 09/03/1525(=1526); 3E1/46 11/07/1527; 3E1/30, 02/06/1530; 3E1/49,

31. **Jean Du Moulin**, *printer, rue de la Scille* (1517).¹¹⁰
32. **Jehan Garnyer**, *libraire imprimeur* (1520).¹¹¹
33. **Huguet Lequin**, *libraire imprimeur* (1520).¹¹²
34. **Jacques Deleschelle**, *libraire, marchand libraire* (1521, 1529).¹¹³
35. **Jehan Liger**, *libraire* (1521).¹¹⁴
36. **André Lechollier**, *libraire* (1521).¹¹⁵
37. **Guillaume Lyon**, *libraire imprimeur* (1522).¹¹⁶
38. **Jehan Frodisson**, *écrivain de lettres de forme*, Saint-Saturnin parish (1522).¹¹⁷
39. **Romain Helion**, *écrivain* (1522).¹¹⁸
40. **Martin Juprione** (?), *écrivain* (1522).¹¹⁹
41. **Olivier Naturel/Natural**, *libraire, marchand libraire* (1522, 1523).¹²⁰
42. **Jehan Lebreton/Lebrethon**, *libraire imprimeur* (1522, 1523).¹²¹
43. **Martin Siffleau**, *libraire, marchand libraire*, Saint-Étienne parish (1523, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1531, 1532).¹²²
44. **Jehan Gallays**, *imprimeur* (1523).¹²³
45. **Arnoul Rousset**, *imprimeur demourans audit Tours* (1523).¹²⁴

18/10/1531; 3E1/49, 13/02/1531(=1532); 3E1/49, 04/03/1531(=1532); 3E1/50, 19/10/1532. Aquilon, "L'art typographique;" Walsby, *Booksellers*, 615.

¹¹⁰ Walsby, *Booksellers*, 951. "Scille" is most likely an abbreviation of Scellerie.

¹¹¹ Tours, AD, 3E1/36, 25/02/1520.

¹¹² Tours, AD, 3E1/36, 25/02/1520.

¹¹³ Tours, AD, 3E1/37, 28/10/1521; 3E1/38, 08/12/1521; 3E1/47, 08/04/1529.

¹¹⁴ Tours, AD, 3E1/26, 28/07/1521. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 1786 (Jean Ligot).

¹¹⁵ Tours, AD, 3E1/38, 29/06/1521.

¹¹⁶ Tours, AD, 3E1/39, 25/08/1522.

¹¹⁷ Tours, AD, 3E1/38, 27/02/1521 (=1522).

¹¹⁸ Tours, AD, 3E1/38, 27/02/1521(=1522).

¹¹⁹ Tours, AD, 3E1/38, 27/02/1521(=1522).

¹²⁰ Tours, AD, 3E1/38, 27/02/1521(=1522); 3E1/39 14/02/1522(=1523); 3E1/40 12/03/1522 (=1523); 3E1/42 25/09/1523.

¹²¹ Tours, AD, 3E1/40, 03/09/1522; 3E1/42, 17/04/1523. Gilles-Girault, "Organisation professionnelle," 123.

¹²² Tours, AD, 3E1/41, 19/07/1523; 3E1/45, 22/12/1527; 3E1/45, 05/01/1527 (=1528); 3E1/47, 02/06/1529; 3E1/47, 21/07/1529; 3E1/49, 26/03/1531 (=1532); 3E1/51, 31/05/1532. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2521: 'Rue de la sellerie' (1522), 'Près monsieur Saint Gacian' (1534).

¹²³ Tours, AD, 3E1/42, 17/04/1523.

¹²⁴ Tours, AD, 3E1/42, 17/04/1523. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2454.

46. **Hiereme/Hervé (?) Gentilz**, *libraire, marchand libraire* (1525).¹²⁵

47. **Nicolas Herpin**, *libraire* (1525).¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Tours, AD, 3E1/43, 18/12/1525; 3E1/47, 02/10/1529; 3E1/47, 14/10/1529; 3E1/49, 06/06/1531; 3E1/49, 01/08/1531; 3E1/51, 10/09/1532.

¹²⁶ Tours, AD, 3E1/28, 23/09/1525. Walsby, *Booksellers*, 2632 (André Turpin).